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***The Intervention
in Siberia***

1918-1922

BY V. PARFENOV

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INTERVENTION
IN SIBERIA
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BY V. PARFENOV

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INTRODUCTORY

THE Soviet Union is a great Pacific power. Her Far Eastern Territory extends from the ice-free bay of Possiet to the paleocrystic wastes of the Arctic Ocean, from the Pacific Ocean to Lake Baikal, covering a total land area exceeding 2,600,000 square kilometers. The territory is so vast that it could freely accommodate five states the size of Japan.

It is a territory of fertile valleys and high mountain ranges, such as the Yablonovoi, Stanovoi, Sikhota Alin, Kolyma and Anadyr.

It juts out far to sea in the vast peninsula of Kamchatka and outcrops into the Bering Sea with the fog-bound Komandorskiye Islands.

For hundreds of kilometers the Far Eastern border of the Soviet Union runs along the mighty Amur separating the socialist state from Manchuria, which Japan has torn from the living body of China.

The natural resources of the Soviet Far East are incalculable. It is rich in iron, coal and oil; gold, platinum and other non-ferrous metals; timber and fur, rare metals and fish.

The Japanese imperialists, ever watchful for easy prey, had long coveted the territories of Russia with visions of the Japanese flag planted firmly on the Island of Sakhalin, Kamchatka

and the banks of the Amur, not to mention territories farther to the West, like Lake Baikal and the Ural Mountains.

Even before the October Revolution of 1917 the Japanese published a map in which the whole Pacific coast from Kamchatka to Vladivostok was marked as their territory with the explanatory note: "Lands which must belong to Greater Japan."

The Sea of Okhotsk bore the legend, "A sea which must be won by main force." A third and no less eloquent inscription stood alongside Vladivostok: "What you have won is yours, but that does not prevent you from winning something else."

With their ambition fixed first of all on the Russian Maritime Province the Japanese were already making preparations to seize it in the summer of 1917. Japanese gendarmes and secret agents kept pouring into Vladivostok from Korea in the guise of laborers, artisans and professional people. The Japanese government was hurriedly reinforcing the garrisons in North Korea and concentrating munitions on the Russian border. The Japanese Consul in Vladivostok conducted himself most aggressively, looking for an excuse to fabricate an "incident." The notes which he addressed to the Russian authorities on insignificant occurrences read like the fiat of a conqueror.

Such in brief were the policy and behavior of Japan in the Russian Far East before the Socialist Revolution.

I. PREPARATION FOR INTERVENTION

The Socialist Revolution in Russia, stimulating to unprecedented activity the revolutionary and national liberation movements throughout the world, was bound to excite the furious hatred of the imperialists.

The imperialists were exceedingly alarmed by the influence of this great Socialist Revolution on the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the popular liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

"All the imperialist sharks are hurling themselves on Russia and are bent on tearing her to pieces," said Lenin. "For they know that every month socialist Russia exists paves the way to their own doom." *

Immediately after the victory of the Socialist Revolution the Entente governments began to prepare for a campaign of intervention, to wipe the Soviet Republic from the face of the earth.

The chief initiator and organizer of intervention in the Far East was Japan, which had already declared officially to the Allies at the end of 1917 that she was ready to start if she would be guaranteed territorial compensations and the right to act independently, without the interference of other powers. And it was due only to objections raised by America, which did not want Japan to get too strong in the Far East, that the intervention was delayed somewhat.

One curious document of this period which has come to light is a secret dispatch sent by Colonel Pichon, an intelligence officer of the French General Staff, who was engaged in espionage in Siberia and the Far East at the beginning of 1918. Pichon urged his superiors to proceed without delay and added in an outburst of zeal:

"We have force and finance on our side. With these, the best of all arguments, we can attain everything."

With his kindred spirits Trotsky, later exposed as a traitor and an enemy of the people, did everything to facilitate the

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, International Publishers, New York

intervention. According to Mr. Churchill, then Secretary for War, Trotsky told Bruce Lockhart, who had remained in Moscow in the dual capacity of diplomat and intelligence officer, that he, Trotsky, "would not object to the Japanese landing troops in the Far East."

The aim of the interventionists was to overthrow the Soviets and convert Russia into a colony.

The intervention in the Far East began on a foggy day in January, 1918, when the Japanese cruiser *Iwami* suddenly appeared in the Bay of the Golden Horn and dropped anchor in the harbor of Vladivostok. On the same day the Japanese Consul informed the Municipal Council of Vladivostok that the cruiser had been sent for the purpose of "protecting" Japanese subjects. Protection against whom was a point which the Consul left obscure. But everything was made clear by the Japanese Prime Minister Terautsi, who declared in the Upper Chamber that Japan was worried and alarmed by the passage of power into the hands of the Soviets.

On the following day another cruiser appeared in the Vladivostok roadstead. This was a British vessel—*H.M.S. Suffolk*. And a couple of days later came another Japanese cruiser, the *Asahi*, which was soon followed by the American cruiser *Brooklyn*.

For the time being matters went no further than this demonstrative regatta of Allied ships in the Bay of the Golden Horn. The explanation is simple. The interventionists were "biding their time." Soviet Russia had opened peace negotiations with Germany and the Entente did not want to do anything drastic that might precipitate peace between the two countries.

In the interim, while they hesitated to occupy the Far East with their own forces, the interventionists mobilized against the Russian people the overthrown landlords and capitalists and



Japanese routed at Sitsa station on the Suchan Railway.

every element of ignorance, squalor, sordid self-interest and venality that could possibly be found in old Russia.

The Japanese militarists encouraged the formation of puppet governments on the territory of Siberia and the Soviet Far East which would be dutiful executors of the Japanese plans of annexation. They patronized and vigorously supported all kinds of adventurers and "atamans," and even organized bands of brigands to harass the Soviet republic.

The men chosen to lead these bands were White-Guard cut-throats of the Semyonov, Kalmykov, Ungern and Gamov type.

With the help of Semyonov's bandit army the Japanese hoped to annex Russia's Transbaikalia and Outer Mongolia.

Semyonov, indeed, called himself the "Grand Duke" of Mongolia. Semyonov was an ex-captain of Cossacks whom Kerensky had sent to the Far East in 1917 to fight against the Bolsheviks. On reaching Harbin he spent his time in debauchery. There, in Harbin, he sold himself to the Japanese.

As his aides Semyonov selected Baron Tirbach, a sadist born and bred, and Colonel Sipailo, who had hundreds of working people shot and done to death. Many Bolshevik heroes fell at the hands of these "sworn tormentors" of Russia.

The Japanese gave Semyonov lavish assistance, furnishing him with arms, and funds to a total of 3,000,000 rubles.

In the middle of January, 1918, Semyonov's bandit army broke into Transbaikalia from Manchuria, to cut off the Far East from the Soviet Republic.

The "People's Council" in Chita, consisting of Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, betrayed the Revolution and entered into negotiations with Semyonov. This was a signal for all the elements who had received the victory of the Revolution with fury and hatred. The White Guards and kulaks raised their heads. The situation in Transbaikalia grew suddenly tense.

The workers of Chita rose in defense of the Revolution. They disbanded the counter-revolutionary "People's Council." They began to muster armed forces against Semyonov and his banditry. The Bolshevik organization in Chita mobilized its membership for service at the front.

The Siberian Soviets appointed the talented young Bolshevik Sergei Lazo as commander of the Transbaikalian front.

The young commander threw himself into his duties with the energy typical of him, firing his men with his own spirit and faith in victory.

"You must realize, comrades," said Lazo, "that Semyonov is playing the part of a bloodhound whom the imperialist marauders have unleashed against the Soviet land." More than once he cautioned his fellow commanders: "Semyonov has experienced generals and officers on his staff; we must not be inferior to them."

In February, 1918, the Red forces routed Semyonov and chased him back into Manchuria.

In the meantime another tool of the Japanese was organizing a White-Guard uprising in the city of Blagoveshchensk. This was "Ataman" Gamov. He was assisted by the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Japanese spies who had been residing in Blagoveshchensk and elsewhere under the guise of hairdressers, photographers, shopkeepers, etc. In March Gamov seized Blagoveshchensk but a few days later the town was smartly recaptured by Red forces. The Japanese and the Gamovites decamped to Sakhalin (Manchuria) across the Amur with 37,000,000 rubles in gold. Thus this Japanese adventure also came to grief.

II. THE INTERVENTIONISTS "ADMINISTRATE"

It did not take the Japanese long to fabricate the "incident" that was so necessary for the development of the intervention. On the morning of April 4, 1918, a Japanese business establishment (*Isido*) in Vladivostok was raided by gangsters, hired by the Japanese militarists. Two Japanese were killed. The unusual circumstances of the crime, which was committed in the daytime without loss of property, left no doubt as to the authorship, and it did not come as a surprise when Japanese marines landed in Vladivostok on April 5 to "protect" Japanese subjects there.

Rear-Admiral Hiroshari Kato, commanding the Japanese squadron, in a message addressed to the population of Vladivostok, wrote that he wished the revolution to be "brilliantly consummated," as he entertained feelings of "profound friendship and sympathy for the Russian authorities and the Russian people."

This unheard-of violation of the sovereignty of the state was received with profound indignation by the general public, which demanded the immediate withdrawal of the enemy landing party. But the treacherous Municipal Council of Vladivostok, which was controlled by Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, upheld the action of the Japanese.

A Soviet government communique issued on this incident stated in plain terms, without mincing matters, that "bourgeois Japan was acting as the mortal enemy of the Soviet Republic."

In a telegram sent to the Vladivostok Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Lenin and Stalin wrote:

"We regard the situation as extremely serious, and warn the comrades most categorically. Cherish no illusions; the Japanese will certainly take the offensive. It is inevitable. They will

be assisted by all the Allies without exception. Preparations must therefore be begun without the least delay, serious preparations, most energetic preparations. Chief attention must be paid to proper withdrawal, retreat, the evacuation of supplies and railroad material. Undertake nothing impracticable. Get ready to dismantle and blow up tracks, withdraw cars and locomotives; lay a mine defense near Irkutsk or in the Transbaikalian Region. Send us accurate information twice a week as to how many locomotives and cars have been withdrawn and how many still remain. Failing this, we do not and will not believe anything. We have no currency notes just now, but by the second half of April we shall have a lot; but we shall make our aid dependent on your practical success in withdrawing the cars and locomotives from Vladivostok, in preparing to blow up bridges, and so on." *

This advice from Lenin and Stalin was a program of action for the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Far East in their struggle against the intervention.

In spring, the same year, the Japanese sent Semyonov back to Transbaikalia, this time with Japanese officers to act as instructors.

With a bandit army 10,000 strong Semyonov attacked from Manchuria in April and was soon in possession of the whole southern part of Transbaikalia, threatening Chita. On the occupied territory Semyonov, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the kulaks had a gruesome squaring of accounts with the workers and peasants.

The Regional Bolshevik Committee called upon the working people to take up arms against these hirelings of the Japanese. A state of siege was declared on the Transbaikalian railway and in Chita. As on the first occasion, the whole working population of Transbaikalia rose against the arch-bandit Semyonov. By summer Sergei Lazo's forces had swelled to 9,000 men.

* *Lenin in the Civil War, Letters, Documents, Instructions*, Russ. ed.

For almost four months there was strenuous fighting on the Transbaikalian front. Semyonov's bandit army was utterly routed and hurled back into Manchuria. After this there was a temporary lull in Transbaikalia.

In May, 1918, at the instigation of England and France, the corps of Czechoslovakian ex-prisoners of war mutinied on their way home via Siberia—Vladivostok—and set up a counter-revolutionary regime over the whole territory from the Volga to Vladivostok.

At the beginning of August the Twelfth Japanese Division landed in Vladivostok.

Simultaneously a combined force of American, British, French and Italian troops landed with them.

These levies hurled themselves on the poorly armed Red troops, who were overpowered by sheer weight of numbers and retired to Khabarovsk.

By this time the Czechoslovakian mutineers had seized all the cities along the Trans-Siberian Railway, including Chita.

The Soviet troops ousted from Chita had no line of retreat eastward, since the interventionist forces were advancing from the Maritime Province in the direction of Transbaikalia.

On Aug. 28, 1918, the Siberian Bolshevik leaders held their last conference at Urulga, a small way-station east of Chita. They decided to suspend operations against the invaders until the masses of the people were ready to take action. After adopting this decision the participants in the conference dispersed in the taiga.

When the last armored train had done its work Sergei Lazo mustered the crew and said a few words in farewell, closing on the optimistic note: "Our victory will come. And I think it is not far distant. Get ready for new battles! Let my last words be comradely thanks to one and all. . . ."

The men were profoundly stirred. They stood before him in silence, making no move to disperse. Suddenly a voice rang out:

"Comrade Lazo, can't we come with you?" Lazo smiled sadly:

"No, comrades. We'll have to separate."

When night fell on the remote little siding, Lazo mounted horse with a group of commanders and was soon swallowed up in the wilds of the taiga.

Much about the same time a congress of working folk was held in Khabarovsk which decided to carry on partisan warfare until they could join forces with the Red Army.

In September Khabarovsk and Blagoveshchensk were taken by Japanese troops and Kalmykov's mercenaries. The Seventh Japanese division and Semyonov's levies marched into Transbaikalia and captured Chita.

In November, 1918, Germany was finally defeated by the Allies. Now the Allies had their hands free to organize extensive operations in the south of Russia. Their men-of-war appeared in the Black Sea. The British sent General Poole to Yekaterinodar, where General Denikin was dreaming of an advance on Moscow.

While these events were developing the Red Army had liberated the Volga country and was pursuing the defeated Czechoslovakian troops and Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Urals. Siberia was then being "governed" by a "Directorate" consisting of Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and other anti-Soviet elements officiating in the city of Omsk. Here too were representatives of the Allies headed by the Britisher General Knox, who had "traveled widely" in Russia before the Great War and displayed a keen interest in Russian Central Asia, which bordered on India. Transbaikalia and the Soviet

Far East were completely under occupation by Japanese, British, American and French troops.

The Socialist-Revolutionary "Directorate," which was torn by animosities and internal dissensions, had actually no authority. The workers and peasants quickly realized the treacherous, counter-revolutionary character of this body and retaliated against its innumerable tyrannies and terroristic methods with strikes and partisan warfare.

On the other hand the bourgeoisie and the White Guards had no further use for the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks now that they were discredited in the eyes of the masses. The interventionists were of the same mind. They openly advocated a military dictatorship.

In November, 1918, the monarchists and Cadets* forcibly dissolved the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary Directorate and proclaimed as the "Supreme Governor" of Russia Admiral Kolchak, the former commander of the Imperial Black Sea Fleet. Kolchak surrounded himself with Black-Hundred elements, monarchists and adventurers of every feather. He resurrected all the old Russian estates and titles. His ordinances usually began in true imperial fashion, "We, the Supreme Governor, do decree. . . ." To keep the people in their place Kolchak also reintroduced courts martial, floggings, the gallows and summary executions en masse.

These were black days for Siberia. The country was flooded with foreign troops. The Japanese alone had about 75,000 men there.

There was no end to the atrocities of the Japanese, their monstrous destruction of human life with the help of their hired "atamans."

* Abbreviation for "Constitutional Democratic Party," formed in October, 1905, by the Russian monarchist liberals.

Yamado, commander of the Japanese troops in the Amur Region, issued the following order:

"All townships, villages and hamlets detected in the concealment of Bolsheviks or sympathizing with them will be razed to the ground without mercy by the Japanese imperial troops."

Whole towns and villages were reduced to smoking ruins. The population fled to the hills, into the taiga cursing the invaders, anywhere to escape from the Japanese cannon and mitrailleuse.

The whole country was being converted into a desert. . . .

What houses survived were plundered by the Japanese soldiers and their officers. They took everything they could carry and destroyed everything else. They ran amok in the schools, destroying the libraries, laboratory apparatus, collections, etc. The school buildings were either destroyed or converted into stables.

The women came in for particularly brutal treatment.

As an example we may mention one night in April, 1920, when Japanese soldiers, acting under orders, raided the village of Verkhnyaya Tambovka, herded all the menfolk into one house, then broke into their homes and raped the women.

The Japanese drained the wealth of the territory with wholesale robberies, putting the proceeds into their own pockets or shipping the stuff out to Japan: gold and silver, iron and copper, coal and oil, etc., besides plundering the fisheries and hunting grounds.

For instance they stole over a ton of gold from the city treasury of Zeisk and the Uglovoy gold fields and appropriated a large part of the property of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Scenes from the medieval inquisition were re-enacted with modern refinements in the detention houses of the secret serv-

ices organized by Kolchak, Semyonov and the Japanese. Hundreds of heroic patriots were done to death by the Japanese butchers and their hirelings.

Death was a merciful release from their torture chambers. Prisoners were flogged with ramrods and salt rubbed into the wounds. They were made to stand barefooted on hot boilers. There was no limit to the cruelty of these miscreants. They flayed "gloves" of skin from the hands of living men, pricked out their eyes, cut off their ears, stuck pins under their nails, buried them alive, sewed them up in sacks and dropped them through holes in the ice, burnt them alive in locomotive fire-boxes, bayonetted them—nothing was too cruel.

In one village the Japanese and White Guards captured a young partisan, Misha Popov, a member of the Young Communist League. They put him to the question, beating him and twisting his arms.

"Where are the partisans? How many are there? What are their plans? Where are their headquarters?"

Popov remained silent. They beat him again, added more refined tortures, and put the question once more. This time he replied:

"I won't tell you! Long live the Soviets!"

At this they stuck needles under his nails, dislocated his legs, pierced his flesh with an awl. Then the Japanese officers ordered red-hot ramrods. Misha's body was a mass of burns and wounds. But he gave his inquisitors no information and they put an end to him. . . .

In the summer of 1919 a Japanese battalion led by Major Nakamura and Captain Naiondza swooped down on the village of Kukushkino. The villagers, young and old, were formed up four deep and assailed with rifle butts and bayonets. Then they were driven to the cemetery where they were kept all night.

Shells were fired low over their heads to "give them a fright."

But even this did not satisfy the sadistic instincts of the Japanese bandits.

About eleven o'clock at night they took away five hostages, whose relatives were members of partisan detachments. The hostages walked quietly, without a word. Even the Japanese soldiers escorting them could not help feeling uncomfortable at their mute despair.

They halted in a clearing. The soldiers collected logs and dead wood and, at a word from their officers, drenched the fuel with benzine. Then the hostages, bound hand and foot, were thrown on the pile. The flicker of a match . . . then great tongues of flame shot up.

With an inhuman effort the doomed men began to squirm clear of the flames. The soldiers and officers were seized with panic and opened fire.

After they had accomplished this bloody business the battalion set out that same night on a similar errand to another village.

In the meantime the local partisans had got word and made ready to receive the visitors.

The road to this village lay through a stretch of marshy ground, studded with low bushes. Here the partisans lay in ambush. They let the mounted scouts through. But as soon as the main body came halfway up the road hundreds of rifles opened fire supported by machine guns. The Japanese tried to put up a fight but were unable to deploy their forces. Nor could they use their artillery.

The partisans wasted no bullets. The Japanese battalion was wiped out. Major Nakamura and several other officers were captured and taken to headquarters. There Nakamura was tried by the partisan tribunal and shot.

III. STRIFE IN THE INTERVENTIONIST CAMP

The intervention aggravated to the extreme the antagonisms of the imperialist powers taking part in the campaign against the Soviet Republic. The chief animus was the rivalry of the imperialist powers for domination over the Pacific Ocean.

Relations were particularly strained between America and Japan. The U.S.A. could not be reconciled to the entrenchment of the Japanese positions in China and the Pacific and possible expansion at the expense of the Soviet Far Eastern territories.

Japan, in her turn, was strenuously opposed to America's active policy in the Maritime Province. The contention between Japan and America for control of the Trans-Siberian Railway came to the point of military collisions. The Japanese did everything to make mischief for the Americans, derailing their troop trains, inciting Kalmykov to attack them, tearing down their flags.

The Americans did not let the Japanese have it all their own way. Among other things they declared the Suchan coal basin, much coveted by the Japanese, to be a neutral zone. They held up Japanese freights in transit to Semyonov and Kalmykov, did the same with the "atamans'" troop trains and piled up information on the atrocities of the Japanese which they used to their disadvantage.

In a characterization of this continual strife between Japan and the U.S.A. Lenin wrote in 1918:

"The economic development of these countries has for several decades been piling up mountains of inflammable material which render a desperate tussle between these powers for the mastery of the Pacific and the Pacific coast inevitable. The entire diplomatic and economic history of the Far East puts it beyond all question that the acute conflict maturing between Japan and

America cannot be averted under capitalism. This antagonism, veiled for the time being by the alliance of Japan and America against Germany, is retarding the offensive of Japanese imperialism against Russia. The hostilities started against the Soviet Republic (the landing of troops in Vladivostok and the support given to Semyonov's bands) are being retarded, because they threaten to convert the veiled conflict between Japan and America into open war." *

One conspicuous expression of the fierce strife in the interventionist camp was the Japanese attitude to the coup of Admiral Kolchak. On the very next day Semyonov received an urgent order from Tokio:

"Tokio, November 27.

"Ataman Semyonov, Chita. Urgent.

"Japanese public opinion disapproves of Kolchak. Protest.
"Marquis Kato."

In obedience to his master's voice Semyonov sent a wire to Omsk declaring that he did not recognize Kolchak's coup. Hoping to intimidate the British, French and Americans Semyonov threatened to declare Far Eastern independence and replace Kolchak with General Horvath, a man who held a warm spot in the hearts of the Japanese.

The antagonisms between Japan on the one hand and Britain with France and America on the other hand led to acute rivalry between Semyonov and Kolchak. Semyonov's men in Chita did everything to hold up war freights in transit to Kolchak from Vladivostok. The Admiral retaliated by displacing the ataman from all his posts and ordering him to stand trial. At this Semyonov, egged on by the Japanese, cut the telegraph between Omsk and Vladivostok.

A representative of General Knox came on the scene and

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII.

demanded the immediate restoration of the line. Semyonov declined.

Then Kolchak, acting on the advice of Knox and the French General Janin, sent out a punitive expedition. And it would have gone hard with Semyonov but for the protection of the Japanese.

There is an interesting letter, found in Kolchak's files, in which the Japanese General Yosia plainly informed the Omsk government that they would not allow any violence to Semyonov. General Yosia wrote to the Commandant of Verkhneudinsk, informing him that he would not allow troops to be "moved east" from Omsk "for the purpose of fighting the Semyonov detachment."

The punitive expedition against Semyonov had to be postponed. Britain, France and America had to find other ways to settle the conflict, more acceptable to the Japanese.

The Japanese missed no opportunity to annoy the British. They held up the trains of the British military mission, British colonels were forced to travel in cattle trucks, Japanese soldiers were forbidden to salute British officers. They tore down British flags, explaining that in districts occupied by them no flag could be flown but the Japanese.

The Japanese were very much afraid of Kolchak's influence spreading to the Far East since he was being backed by British and American capital. They would not let Kolchak come any farther than Chita. Thus Semyonov, operating in Transbaikalia, was used not only against the Soviet government but against the British, French and American interventionists.

It should also be mentioned that Kolchak too, playing on the antagonisms in the interventionist camp, bluffed the western powers more than once with a threat to give Japan right of way in Siberia.

But for the time being the Japanese imperialists preferred to entrench themselves in the Far East and convert it into a colony. The Japanese were not anxious to push their troops beyond Lake Baikal while they had America in their rear. The antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists were undermining the fighting qualities of Kolchak's army, breeding dissension in his rear and working against the anti-Soviet plans of the interventionists.

IV. THE PEOPLE FIGHT

In order to retain the gains of the Revolution the Bolshevik Party called upon the people to repulse the enemies of the Republic and raised them in a patriotic war against the invaders and the mutinies of the overthrown exploited classes.

In this great people's war partisan warfare, as an auxiliary, played an eminent role. By operating in the rear of the interventionists and White Guards, the partisans were helping the Red Army to defeat the enemies of the Soviet Republic.

Towns and villages, railways and mines, pastures, hills, plains and the boundless taiga—all were to belong to the people. And the people rose to the defense of their socialist fatherland.

The heroic struggle of the Soviet people against their would-be enslavers developed on a mighty and formidable scale. Strikes and uprisings broke out all over the country, more and more partisan detachments were formed. They were joined in increasing numbers by workers from the factories, gold fields, railways and coal mines, and by the poor and middle peasantry.

Their banners bore the fiery watchword of the masses: "For the Soviets!"

The Red partisan detachments, born of the people's anger

and their inflexible determination to maintain the independence of their country, grew into an invincible force.

The organizers of the popular revolutionary struggle were the Bolsheviks working deep underground in the rear of the interventionists.

Lenin and Stalin constantly assisted the Bolsheviks in the Far East with advice and instructions. They gave daily leadership to the revolutionary struggle in the rear of the enemy.

Overcoming immense difficulties, carrying their lives in their hands, couriers and representatives of the Bolshevik Central Committee went to and fro through the enemy lines bringing the Party's instructions and then returning to Moscow to report on the situation in the enemy's rear.

In spite of all adversities, conspiracies and wholesale arrests the illegal Bolshevik organizations in Siberia and the Far East kept in regular contact with the Central Committee and its leaders, Lenin and Stalin.

The Bolsheviks overcame the most formidable obstacles in the development of the partisan movement. They combatted the misconceptions of partisan warfare which were common in the initial period of its development, when many peasants could not understand that they were fighting not only for their own village, their own plot of ground, but for all the villages and towns of the Soviet Republic.

Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists and even kulaks tried to tack themselves on to the partisans in order to demoralize and disorganize the partisan movement and turn it against the Red Army and the Soviet government.

Trotsky's agents who penetrated into the underground Bolshevik organizations proposed that the partisan movement should be abandoned altogether. These traitors stopped at nothing in their opposition to the partisan movement—committing

provocative acts, spreading false reports, even stooping to espionage in the service of the Japanese imperialists.

A ruthless struggle was waged against the enemies of the Revolution.

The partisan movement rendered the great service that it did only because it was elevated by the enlightening and organizing influence of socialism, only because it was led by the Bolshevik Party. Due to these factors the element of petty-bourgeois anarchy was speedily and drastically eliminated from the partisan movement while the enemies of the people working inside this movement were exposed and their fangs drawn.

The three strongest and most active Bolshevik organizations in the Far East were the Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and Blagoveshchensk branches, which were formed in the first days of the intervention.

The small groups of Bolsheviks who had survived the storm in Vladivostok began to work on a semi-legal basis, but soon had to go underground. They immediately proceeded to organize the revolutionary forces and soon made contact with the Communists incarcerated in the Vladivostok penitentiary, started a newspaper and became active among the youth of the city. By the middle of August, 1918, they had secretly elected a city committee. This committee organized a Red Cross Society which raised funds for prisoners and their families. In this they were given valuable material assistance by the Vladivostok Longshoremen's Union, which had a membership of 7,000. The committee formed an action group for supplying the partisans with arms and provisions. This group also helped political prisoners to escape from prison.

Another group of Bolsheviks worked on the trade union newspaper, which was published legally at first, though under different names. Later, when repression and persecution be-

came increasingly severe, the Bolsheviks of Vladivostok began to publish illegal leaflets from a well concealed printing press. Immediately after the retirement underground several members of the Party were sent into the Central Bureau of the Trade Unions and devoted themselves to enlisting the workers for struggle against the intervention.

The younger Bolsheviks worked among the youth. They sent the young workers into the partisan detachments, obtained arms and ammunition with their assistance, used them for communication and intelligence.

The secret Bolshevik nuclei were formed first of all among harbor workers, railwaymen, miners, and war depot personnel. Soon the Bolsheviks of Vladivostok were able to set up their Party nuclei in Kolchak's troops and make contact with revolutionaries in the forces of the intervention.

At the end of 1918 the Maritime Regional Committee of the Communist Party was elected, and a military section was formed to direct the partisan movement throughout the region.

The regional committee also had sections for agitation and propaganda, transport, communication, the arrangement of secret meeting places, information, supplies, finance and Red Cross service.

The commander of the Transbaikalian front, Sergei Lazo, made his way to Vladivostok and, on the instructions of the Regional Committee, assumed the leadership of the military section.

Japanese intelligence officers and Kolchak's agents went through the workers' districts with a fine-tooth comb, looking for Bolsheviks. A large reward was offered for the apprehension of Sergei Lazo. Lazo had to live with borrowed passports and continually change his address. Once agents of Kolchak

paid a surprise visit to a place where Lazo was staying. He pretended to have been suddenly awakened by the noise.

"What the devil do you mean by it?" he asked one of the gendarmes. "Can't you let a fellow sleep?"

"Come on now, none of that. Let's see your papers."

The gendarmes scrutinized his passport, his certificate of employment, then ransacked the place while the surly laborer in the grimy overalls looked on with sleepy eyes. As they left one of the gendarmes complained to Lazo:

"We get no peace with those damned Bolsheviks. . . . It's like looking for a needle in a haystack, blast their souls."

Lazo sympathized with him.

Due to the efforts of the Maritime Party organization the partisan movement rapidly spread throughout the region.

About this time the Bolsheviks in Khabarovsk too were organizing illegal party work on a widening scale. They restored connections with the workers' organizations and formed secret nuclei throughout the region.

The Bolsheviks of Blagoveshchensk were also active, building organizations underground. They made contact with the partisan detachments as they formed spontaneously and led the partisan movement. Like the Bolsheviks of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk they worked in Kolchak's troops, in various institutions and public organizations, leading strikes and uprisings, conducting agitation and propaganda on a wide scale among the population, combining legal work with illegal work.

In a dugout somewhere in the taiga, the Blagoveshchensk Communists installed a press on which they printed a newspaper, the *Red Call*, besides leaflets and manifestoes to the working people. They trained agitators and propagandists who traveled the length and breadth of the region addressing meetings and giving talks.

Another press was kept busy printing Kolchak bonds. This machine was a godsend to the Party organization in Blagoveshchensk and played no small part in the depreciation of Kolchak's bonds.

Every Bolshevik had to work under great difficulties and run the risk of falling into the hands of the Japanese or White-Guard intelligence services, whose agents tried to penetrate into the underground Party organizations and the partisan detachments. In this respect the kulaks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, it must be said, distinguished themselves in the service of the Japanese.

The people lost many true sons as a result of their dastardly work. There was the case of the Bolshevik Fyodor Mukhin, the Chairman of the first Council of People's Commissars of the Amur Region, a working man who proved to be a talented organizer and leader of the struggle against the interventionists. Through a provocateur Japanese agents tracked him down, placed him under arrest and killed him, as they said, while he was attempting to escape. His death was a great loss to the cause.

The heroism of the Bolsheviks, their devotion to the Party of Lenin and Stalin, were an inspiration to the people in their fight for the liberation of their country.

When questioned before execution the old partisan Gavril Pik proudly declared to Kolchak officers who were judging him:

"I fought against Kolchak's tyranny side by side with my children. I die for the truth, but the peasants will avenge me. Long live the Soviet power!"

Another old partisan, Andrei Kryzhanovsky, declared before execution:

"You want me to lose my conscience and betray my comrades, but torture and death hold no terrors for me. The work-

ing people will defeat you butchers. I gladly die in the workers' cause!"

* * *

The partisan movement was most widespread in the Altai Mountains, the Semipalatinsky Region, the Yenisei country, Transbaikalia, on the Amur and in the Maritime Region.

There were tens of thousands of partisans in these districts. In the Amur Region there were about 30,000 men under arms.

Along the coast of the Soviet Maritime Region, from Vladivostok to the Amur estuary in the Gulf of Tartary, lies the mountain range of Sikhota Alin.

At the time of which we are writing this was a desolate area with only a few widely separated settlements. In one of them, the village of Anuchino, situated in picturesque surroundings, were the headquarters of the Maritime partisans' army and the political department. Here the Bolsheviks issued their party paper, *Nabat* ("The Tocsin"), and congresses of Soviets were held.

Not far from Vladivostok, in the Sikhota Alin mountains, are the coal fields of Suchan. North of Suchan, on the shore of the Sea of Japan, are the lead and silver mines of Tetukhe. These two industrial centers played an important part in the history of the partisan movement. The insurrection against the White Guards and interventionists was begun by the workers of Suchan and Tetukhe.

The longshoremen of Vladivostok, the railwaymen, and the miners of Suchan and Tetukhe were the most active elements in the partisan movement. They did much to cement the unity of the partisans and worked hard under the leadership of the Bolsheviks to improve the fighting qualities of the partisan detachments.

The disconnected and poorly organized partisan detachments gradually evolved into disciplined regiments with appointed commanders and commissars. These regiments, in their turn, united into partisan armies. Usually a military council and staff were formed in each army to assist the commander. This was the case in the Maritime Region, the Amur Region and other districts.

Bolshevik nuclei were formed in each company to give the partisan movement strong party leadership.

The daring night raids of the partisans made life a burden to the Japanese and White Guards, wearing them down physically and morally.

The partisans made elaborate preparations for each action, scouting each zone thoroughly beforehand. Before setting off the objectives were explained and made clear to all.

In the winter time partisan skiing parties made daring raids on the Japanese, making up for lack of armament with ingenious tactics.

They would mass their forces on some good point of vantage and, adroitly concentrating their fire, keep the Japanese out in the snow for hours on end. The Japanese soldiers, who were not acclimatized to the Siberian frosts, would freeze to death.

These novel tactics are described by a former member of the partisan forces in this area:

"It was a frosty night in December, 1919. The village of Erkovtsa seemed as still as the dead. Detachments of Red partisans took up their position on a plain outside the village. Lines of Japanese soldiers slowly advanced toward Erkovtsa, from coppices and cone-hills. A gun flashed behind them in the darkness and a shell whistled over the village.

"The enemy occupied a convenient position, the bank of a winding stream which had frozen to the bottom.

"They were three to one against us and were excellently equipped.

"The partisans decided not to attack, but stay where they were and let the Japanese fight it out with the frost.

"They stopped firing and lay still in the snow. The hours passed slowly. . . . Some of the men became delirious, the icy breath of the earth went to their heads.

"The commanders ordered the half-frozen men into a gulley where a big fire was blazing. Other men, who had been warming themselves at the fire, were sent to replace them.

"And so the whole night through. A chorus of groans could be heard from the river side. The Japanese soldiers were freezing to death.

"The next morning the half-frozen partisans rushed into attack. The Japanese soldiers, who were numbed with cold in spite of their heavy furs, fired at random. Then, as the danger of their position penetrated to their frozen brains, they threw aside their rifles and raised their arms in animal alarm:

" 'Bolsheviki! No fight!'

"The major in command shot himself in the mouth."

The partisans tenaciously retained all territory captured from the enemy forces. In selecting their lines of defense they carefully took into account the distinctive features of the terrain. They guarded all roads leading from enemy territory. They disposed themselves in such a manner as to use flanking fire and strike the enemy in the rear at the first opening.

The partisans opened fire only at the word of command, usually given at short range. In this way they did not expose themselves unnecessarily to the enemy and economized ammunition.

If they had to leave a district under the pressure of superior forces they retreated under cover, scattering their forces to get away quicker.

They often laid ambushes in mountain passes, narrow deiles and at river crossings.

The operations of the partisans were designed to create disorganization in the rear of the interventionists and White Guards. They attacked their garrisons, armories and powder magazines, tearing up the permanent way, blowing up railway bridges and armored trains, derailling troop trains and war freights, wrecking the telegraph and telephone lines.

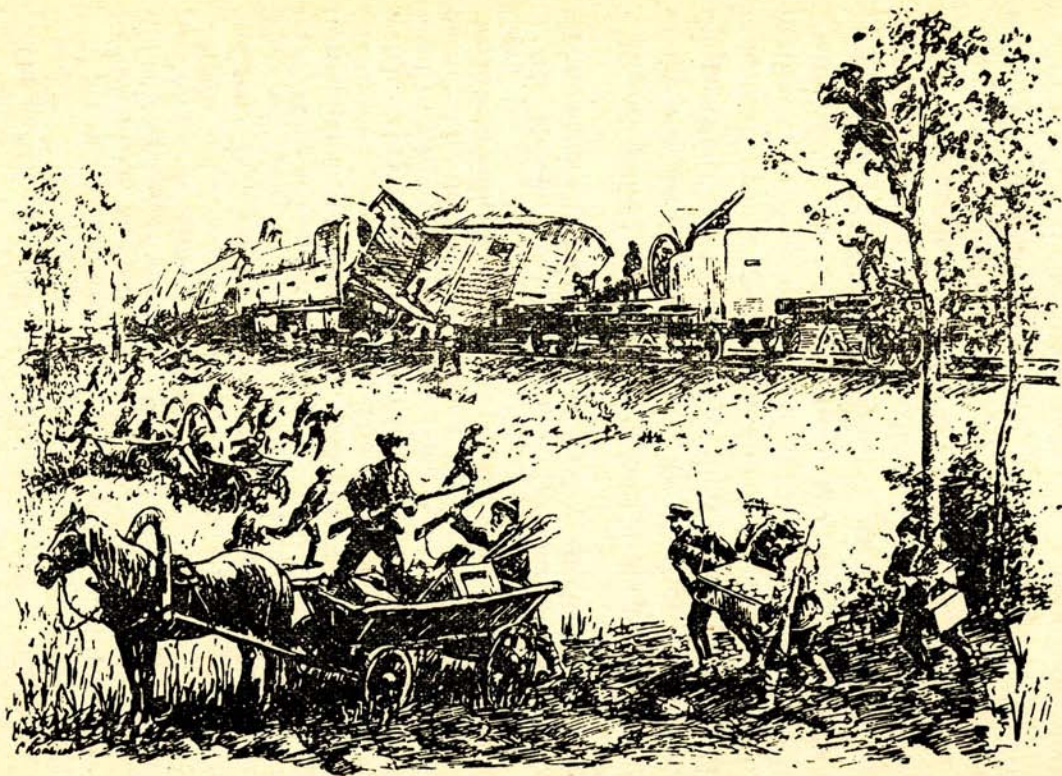
We have already mentioned the department attached to the secret Bolshevik committee in Vladivostok for the supplying of arms and provisions to the partisans. The committee was staunchly assisted by action squads of longshoremen, miners and railwaymen.

On dark nights ammunition wagons would be shunted into some quiet siding, quickly unloaded and the freight buried in the ground to be sent out gradually to the partisans in the taiga.

In his diary one of the Maritime partisans wrote the following:

"Our ten-squad is doing good work. We are getting hold of cartridges, bombs and rifles. The railwaymen help to send them on to the partisans. The ten-squad had a meeting in my underground den yesterday. We worked out a plan to make off with an armored car. . . . One chap in a White-Guard outfit is offering us 400 rifles, 500 bombs, some field telephones and 5,000 cartridges for spot cash.

"We are sending off the regular consignment of medicaments and surgical instruments which a feldsher is getting for us. . . . Today Comrade B. submitted a plan for sending a whole carload of cartridges to Kangous station. Vladivostok station is simply jammed with munition cars and one of them might be coupled to the coal train. But we would have to make contact with the railwaymen at Kangous station. The shunting engine driver and the train marshal are our men. The alternative plan is to shunt the car down the siding past the Pervaya Rechka mill, unload it in the night and bury the ammunition in the ground. Then we can remove it a bit at a time to Ussuri Bay and ship it off on



Partisans demolish a Japanese armored train

a yawl to Petrovka where the partisans have their headquarters. . . .”

The partisan continues in another entry:

“Last night a comrade came to my place with twelve bombs. French make, and said he had got them from the dockers. I think a group of three should be organized among them to pass on handy stuff like this to the partisans.

“This underground work can be done only in groups of five and ten. Today I made contact with the Korean Bolsheviks. They will provide us with yawls and sloops for our ‘export trade.’ Our ten-squads are getting all the stuff they can. This transshipment of ammunition and arms is a difficult business. Discovery is all too common. The Whites are keeping a stricter watch. They have put a line of sentries on the heights around Vladivostok to reinforce the Japanese. Ussuri Bay is being patrolled by the *Prizrak*, a motor launch which keeps peppering the beach with machine-gun fire. But we are managing somehow.

“The Korean revolutionary organization is doing smart work, buying arms and sending them to the partisans in the hills.”

Enemy police boats and destroyers patrolled the whole length of the seacoast from Vladivostok to the Gulf of Tartary. But the partisans’ yawls and sloops slipped through to the north in spite of them, carrying arms to the districts occupied by the partisans. In the same way, in June, 1919, the Bolsheviks of Vladivostok delivered over fifty tons of flour to the Maritime partisans, shipped on the *Rynda*. In the same month another launch got through to the partisans in Nakhodka Bay with a large consignment of cartridges and rifles.

The partisans captured a lot of arms in their raids on troop trains and munition trains.

Nevertheless, the partisans were short of arms. And many of them had to do their fighting with hunting pieces, sabres, home-made lances, or simply pitchforks.

Primitive workshops, erected in the wilds of the taiga, manufactured bombs, cartridges, lances, repaired rifles and even built cannon. Particularly famous were the armament shops organized by the Tetukhe miners. Here they made cartridges and dynamite bombs more destructive in their effect than the British Mills bomb. Various other workshops were organized in the taiga, making clothes, footwear, caps, harness and dressing leather, etc.

For partisans wounded or sick there were field hospitals. The drugs, bandages and surgical instruments were obtained through all kinds of channels. If gauze was not to be had bandages were made from clean linen.

V. THE PARTISANS FIGHT ON TO VICTORY

At the end of April, 1919, the Bolsheviks of the Maritime Region and Siberia held a secret conference in Vladivostok at which they decided upon the widest possible development of the partisan movement.

Soon after this conference the insurrectionary movement spread like wildfire all down the coast of the Maritime Province, sweeping through Olginsky Uyezd and the Suchan Valley, forming a front which extended over 375 miles, from the Gulf of Tartary almost to Vladivostok.

Miners, harbor workers, Vladivostok railwaymen, hundreds of Communists and Young Communist Leaguers poured into the ranks of the Red partisans.

Revolutionary Chinese and Korean workers and peasants also took an active part in this heroic partisan struggle, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Russian people against the invaders and White gangs.

A remarkable spirit of international solidarity reigned among the partisans.

On the instructions of the headquarters staff in Olginsky Uyezd, one of the Russian partisan detachments was to be merged with a detachment of Chinese partisans.

The Russian partisans received the news of their coming in high glee. This detachment had frequently bested the Japanese and had a fine record for its fighting qualities and discipline. Everybody vied for the privilege of being in the guard of honor that was mounted to meet them. As the Chinese approached headquarters, out rang the command:

"Parade, 'shun! Present—arms!"

Not to be outdone in courtesy the Chinese partisans smartly returned the salute.

The Chinese partisans had a rather peculiar cannon with them. The barrel was about nine feet long and something less than an inch in diameter. It was fired on the match-lock principle by a bit of rope inserted at the near end. This remarkable engine of war was reported to have sown panic among the Japanese more than once.

The partisans of the Maritime Region had the highest admiration for this renowned Chinese detachment which was led by the old revolutionary Sung, a participant in the Chinese Revolution of 1911.

A congress of working people of Olginsky Uyezd, called in the summer of 1919, adopted a decision to reorganize the partisan detachments on the lines of a regular army. The same congress confirmed the appointment of Sergei Lazo as the commander of the Maritime partisans' army.

The invaders and White Guards sent out punitive expeditions against the partisans. Czechoslovakians and Japanese, Americans and Rumanians, Italians and Magyars, Poles and Canadians, all fought against the Red partisans.

Though poorly armed and outnumbered by their enemies, the

partisans, led by the Bolshevik Party, often defeated and routed the interventionist and White troops.

In the spring of 1919 about 1,000 partisans in the Maritime Region surrounded a White force of some 1,200 men in Vladimirovka, a village not far from Nakhodka Bay. The besieged Whites converted the village into a veritable fortress.

Every night the partisans raided the enemy posts, broke into the village and did not give Kolchak's troops a minute's peace, holding them in constant fear and alarm. This went on for eight days.

On the ninth day of the siege a combined squadron of Japanese and White Russian war craft appeared out at sea, speeding to the aid of their beleaguered friends.

The partisans decided to accept battle and took up positions on the rocky slopes of the seacoast.

The squadron anchored in the roads with a thunder of guns and a landing party began to pull for the shore.

Armed only with rifles and machine-guns the partisans held out for three days and nights, keeping off the landing parties with deadly fire. And only when all their ammunition was spent did they retire.

The Japanese and White Guards numbered about 5,000 men. But they did not prolong their stay here. The partisans counter-attacked so vigorously that the intruders took to the ships and steamed off to Vladivostok. The coast of the Maritime Region passed into the hands of the Reds. And it was a long time before the Japanese, let alone the White Guards, dared show their faces in this part of the country.

In the summer of the same year the Suchan branch railway was guarded by over 3,500 enemy troops, quartered at stations all down the line.

The partisan detachments operating in the Suchan Valley did

not exceed 1,500 men. With these forces Sergei Lazo resolved to strike a swift and sudden blow to wipe out the garrisons of the Japanese and White Guards, stop all traffic between the Suchan coal mines and Vladivostok, and shut off the supply of Suchan coal to the railways and the interventionist fleet.

He drew up a plan of campaign, which was approved by the Bolshevik Committee of Vladivostok, and the partisans went into action. Disposing of the enemy outposts without firing a shot, the partisans attacked the stations along the whole branch line. The soldiers were too startled to make any effective resistance and fell under the bullets and bayonets of the partisans. In one night all the enemy garrisons were wiped out. The partisans wrecked the permanent way and retired to their initial positions.

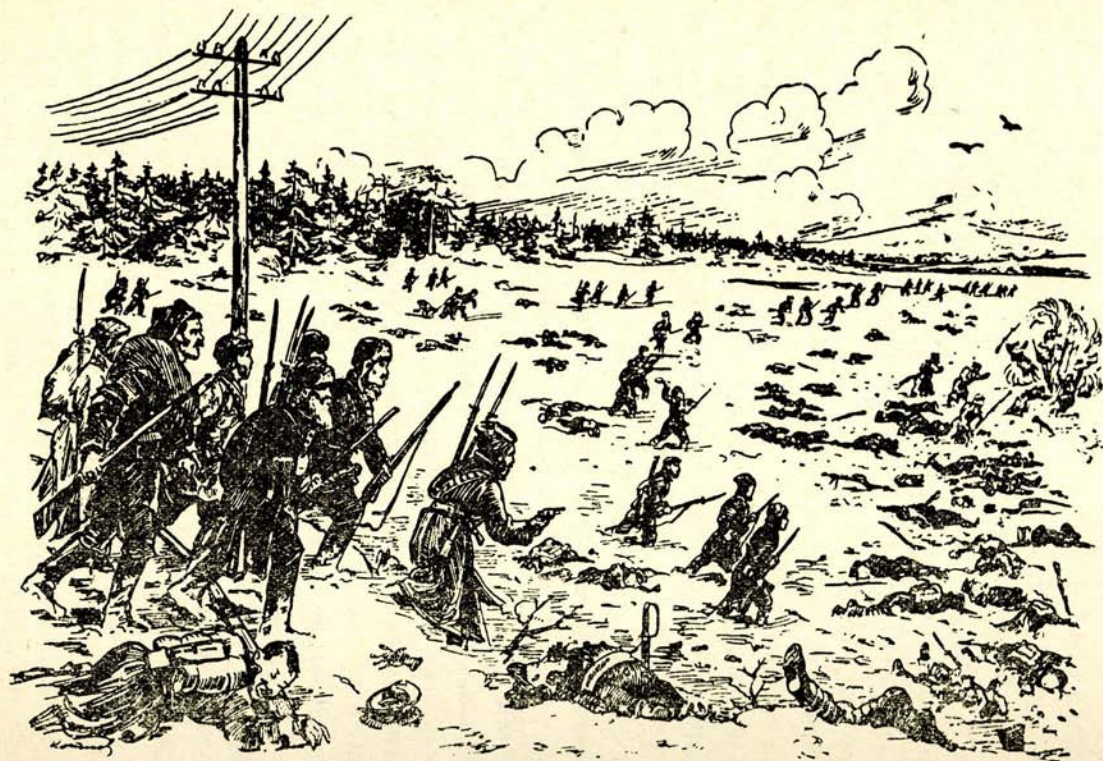
In the Maritime Region the partisans destroyed the whole telegraph line and 260 miles of permanent way. Railway traffic could run only under the protection of armored trains. The life of the region was coming to a standstill.

No less effective were the operations of the partisans in the Amur Region and Transbaikalia.

In their first raid on the Amur railway the partisans of the Amur Region immediately paralyzed the traffic. Over a distance of 310 miles they burned 316 bridges, large and small, several signal boxes and sidings, while all that was left of Pozdeyevka, where they decimated a Japanese battalion, was a heap of ruins. Often big troop trains were sent hurtling down steep embankments by the partisan detachments.

The partisans of the Amur Region kept on harassing the Japanese, inflicting heavy losses on them.

Thus in February, 1919, a Japanese battalion was ambushed near the village of Belogorky and wiped out to a man. All their arms fell into the hands of the partisans.



The Battle of Chudinovka

About the same time partisans on the outskirts of the village of Pavlovka held the Japanese at bay for over twelve hours. Four times the Japanese charged them with cries of "Banzai!" but were thrown back each time by the partisan fire.

Near the village of Chudinovka the partisans gave battle to a force of Japanese over 400 strong. This time the partisans had superior numbers and caught the Japanese in a half circle. The Japanese were wiped out while the partisans lost only three men.

On the same day this partisan detachment, operating on the outskirts of Chudinovka, held up seven Japanese troop trains. The Japanese had a lot of machine-guns, a battery of artillery and two armored cars. But the partisans administered a crushing defeat. In this action, which lasted for over seven hours, one Japanese general, many officers and about 800 soldiers were killed. One thousand were wounded. The partisans lost 118 killed and about 200 wounded.

Their trophies on this occasion included three field guns, the armored cars, hundreds of shells, over 1,000 rifles, 15,000 cartridges and a lot of other equipment.

In March the Amur partisan army made a successful raid on Bochkarevo station. In this battle the Japanese and White Guards lost 450 men in fatal casualties alone.

In November, 1919, a force of partisans advancing down the Amur besieged the city of Nikolayevsk. The siege lasted for almost thirty days. The Japanese, who had taken the city at the beginning of September, 1918, were particularly interested in retaining this point because of its strategic importance.

In the first clash with the partisans, who were fighting on skis and dressed in white for camouflage, the Japanese completely lost their heads and, discarding their rifles and stripping off their heavy winter kit, fled in panic to Chnyrakh.

Three times the partisans called upon the Japanese to sur-

render the city. The Japanese made no reply. But when the partisans began to shell the city the Japanese immediately ceased hostilities and sent a negotiator. On Feb. 28, 1920, the partisans entered the city unopposed.

After resigning their authority to the partisans the Japanese officer tried to lull the vigilance of the partisans with hypocritical assurances of friendship and neutrality, inviting them to mess and paying them the most courteous and flattering attentions.

Two weeks passed after the occupation of the city by the partisans. Life seemed to have resumed its normal course. March 12 was fixed for the opening of the regional congress of Soviets.

But on the night before the Japanese broke their parole and attacked the partisans.

A furious battle raged in the streets for two days.

Due to the courage of the partisans the Japanese sortie was put down.

As soon as the sea was free of ice Japanese warships appeared at the mouth of the Amur and landed a force of 5,000 men. The partisans had no choice but to retire, after blowing up the fortress of Chnyrakh. Nikolayevsk-on-Amur passed into the hands of the Japanese again.

VI. KOLCHAK AND THE PLANS OF THE ALLIES

Carrying out the orders of the Allies in November, 1918, Admiral Kolchak launched an offensive on Perm in the north of the Urals.

Kolchak seriously defeated the Soviet Third Army and captured the city. There was a danger that Kolchak might now

link up with the interventionist troops advancing from Archangel and march against Moscow.

The Communist Party sent Stalin and Djerzhinsky to make good the disaster at Perm. Stalin, acting with iron determination, swiftly planned a counter-stroke as a result of which the front was closed again.

In the spring of 1919 the Allies launched their first campaign against the Soviet Republic. This was a combined action in which the Allied troops struck simultaneously with Kolchak, Denikin, the Poles and Yudenich. The decisive force was Kolchak's.

Kolchak's new offensive began in March in the Ural Mountains. A great battle raged from Perm in the North to the shores of the Caspian in the South. The republic was in mortal danger.

A counter-offensive had to be organized.

The Soviet government found the man to do it—Mikhail Frunze, a staunch proletarian revolutionary and brilliant strategist.

In April the Red Army commenced what is now known as the Buguruslan Operation. Frunze collected a shock group, battered the left flank of Kolchak's army and broke through his front.

Thus began the historic counter-offensive of the Red Army which spelled the beginning of the end for Kolchak.

On May 30 the Battle of Ufa was fought on the River Belaya. The first Red force to cross the river was the celebrated Chapayev Division. Frunze took part in the bayonet charge, firing the men by his example. Ufa was captured. The Red operations in the Urals that summer ended in the utter defeat of Kolchak.

In the autumn of 1919, having made sure their hold on the Urals, the Red forces entered Siberia.

Pursuing the remnants of Kolchak's forces eastward the Red Army captured Petropavlovsk, Omsk, then finally, in December, the city of Tomsk. The Siberian partisans entered Minussinsk and Krasnoyarsk.

It was quite evident that Kolchak had come to the end of his tether.

Concerned only with putting the greatest possible distance between themselves and the Red Army the Czechoslovakian troops seized Kolchak's railway engines and trains, forcing their way through to the Pacific coast. They even uncoupled the engine from the admiral's own train, so had he fallen in their consideration.

The Czechoslovakians were the masters of the situation on the Trans-Siberian. They blocked the whole line in their wild stampede to the East. Kolchak found himself fairly stranded not far from Lake Baikal.

In this plight he begged the assistance of General Janin. But the French general refused to do anything for him. From Janin the "supreme governor" extended a supplicating hand to Semyonov, his old rival. Semyonov let bygones be bygones and sent a wire to General Syrov, the commander of the Czechoslovakian troops: "Stop! Think! Help! Otherwise I shall make you do your duty by force!" Syrov's laconic reply was: "Try."

In August, 1919, the Japanese government had assured Clemenceau and Lloyd George through the Mikado's ambassador in Paris that Kolchak was steadily gaining prestige and strength. Now it all turned out to be nothing but a bluff. The British and French bourgeoisie refused to believe the dismal tidings. But the end of Kolchak became an obvious fact.

Clemenceau went to Lloyd George. The interventionists put

their heads together. They hardly knew what to do next. Denikin and Yudenich too had disappointed them, like Kolchak.

After the Red Army's defeat of Kolchak, and alarmed by the spread of the international movement against intervention, the Allies evacuated their troops from the Far East.

At a conference in December, 1919, it was decided to cease further intervention.

In the meantime the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, with the assistance of the Czechoslovakians, the petty bourgeoisie and the kulaks, had formed a "Political Center" in Irkutsk, which was just another disguise for a bourgeois government. But their plans came to grief. The insurgent workers of Irkutsk routed Semyonov's men and other White forces, set up a revolutionary committee and dispersed the "Political Center." Kolchak had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks and was shot on Feb. 7, 1920, by order of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Committee.

Irkutsk triumphantly met the victorious regiments of the Red Army.

VII. A NEW PAGE IN THE STRUGGLE

Upon the withdrawal of the British, French and American troops from the Soviet Far East the Japanese militarists continued their spoliation of this territory with even greater effrontery than before.

At the beginning of 1920 Transbaikalia, the Amur and Maritime Regions again formed a continuous zone of hostilities. The underground Bolshevik organizations were preparing insurrections in Vladivostok, Nikolsk-Ussuriisk, Spassk, Blagoveshchensk and other towns.

Demoralization set in among Kolchak's troops. The conscripted soldiers went over to the partisans in hundreds.

In Vladivostok a general strike was being organized in protest against the atrocities of the Japanese invaders.

General Ooi, the Japanese commander-in-chief, was very anxious to avert this strike, and tried a little flirtation. A few days before it began the Japanese Consul, Mr. Watanabe, came to the harbor workers with his sweetest smile and invited their representatives to partake in the New Year's feast at Ooi's residence.

The Japanese staff sent out a large number of New Year greetings in which workers were invited to call at a certain address on New Year's day for a little gift consisting of flour and sugar.

The workers, of course, rejected these advances.

The strike began on the morning of January 3. The factories came to a standstill. The street cars stayed in the depot. Shops, banks and offices were closed. The power station turned off the current. The artillery repair shops, the post office, telegraph and garages were also affected by the strike. The quays were deserted. The Ussuri Railway stopped running. Total darkness reigned in the city that night.

This protest strike, which was remarkable for the militance and solidarity of the participants, convincingly showed that the workers of Vladivostok had not admitted defeat. It was a stern warning to the Japanese intruders, attesting to the impetuous growth of the revolutionary struggle.

The partisan movement became more and more widespread and active. Its blows fell thick and fast on the Japanese army.

On January 26 the workers of Nikolsk-Ussuriisk revolted, joined by the soldiers of the White-Guard garrison. Partisans came to reinforce the insurgents and in a short time the city was in the hands of the Soviets.

On January 31, after a long night of suspense, a great in-

insurrection broke out in Vladivostok. This action was a supreme test for insurrectionary tactics. The enemy was very strong. The blow had to be struck suddenly, swiftly and resolutely.

At six o'clock in the morning the armed workers came out on to the streets. Assisted by the revolutionary soldiers of the White-Guard garrison they captured the bank, the telegraph, the port and other vital points practically without a struggle. The city was in the hands of the insurgents. A meeting was held on the city square with the participation of thousands of people. The workers and the partisans who had entered the city embraced with joy.

The bloody regime of the White Guards was overthrown before the very eyes of the Japanese, who were glad to make a formal observance of neutrality and retire from the scene with their tails between their legs.

A new page opened in the history of the heroic struggle in the Far East.

The city authority was transferred to the Regional Zemstvo Administration, which was under Bolshevik leadership.

The insurrection swept the whole territory. General Rozanov, Kolchak's placeman in the Maritime Region, fled to Japan. Sergei Lazo was placed at the head of the Revolutionary Military Council.

Soon the partisans entered Iman and Spassk.

Khabarovsk, too, was taken and Kalmykov fled to China.

On Feb. 5, 1920, the partisans entered Blagoveshchensk. The Amur Region came under Soviet government.

Thus, by February, 1920, the White Guards were driven out of the Maritime Region and the Amur Region.

But the situation in the Far East remained highly involved. There was no end yet to the Japanese intervention. They were

biding their time for a new act of provocation. Semyonov was still "officiating" in Transbaikalia.

On April 4, 1920, late at night, the Japanese troops suddenly attacked the revolutionary garrison of Vladivostok. The whole night long their machine guns and artillery riddled the walls of the silent houses, filling the lifeless streets with debris. By morning, after the city had been bombarded by a Japanese naval squadron, Vladivostok was in the hands of the Japanese.

Dastardly acts of aggression were also committed against the revolutionary garrisons in Khabarovsk, Spassk, Iman and other places in the Maritime Region.

Then followed bloody reprisals. Sergei Lazo, the leader of the Military Council of the Maritime Region and the Far Eastern partisans, was brutally tortured and burned alive in a locomotive firebox with Lutsky and Sibirtsev, his colleagues in the Military Council.

The workers searched for Lazo everywhere. In reply to their inquiries the Japanese command cynically replied that Lazo was not among those arrested.

Finally it was established that the Japanese had sewn up Sergei Lazo, Lutsky and Sibirtsev in sacks and handed them over to Bochkarev's White Guard outfit. These bandits went to the railway depot, took forcible possession of Locomotive No. EL-629, and hauled the sacks into the cab. The first to be burned was Lazo.

The names of these fearless men, martyred in the cause, will live forevermore in the hearts of the Soviet people.

Tokio ordered the Japanese generals to extend the area of occupation. Fresh Japanese troops poured into Transbaikalia through Dairen and Harbin. The remnants of the shattered White armies collected in the Maritime Region from all parts.

The Japanese parliament allocated 33,000,000 yen for the occupation of Soviet Sakhalin. The seizure of the Soviet part of the island in April, 1920, was accompanied by the usual hypocritical declaration to the effect that the Japanese troops had come "to protect" Japanese subjects.

Almost simultaneously the Japanese occupied Kamchatka, here too with a "declaration."

In the meantime the Red Army was still advancing from the West, pursuing the White armies and approaching Chita. The partisan armies in Transbaikalia and the Maritime Region were very active, harassing the Japanese divisions.

Japan herself was in the throes of a post-war crisis. The revolutionary movement was spreading in the country. The Japanese workers were demanding more and more insistently an immediate end to the occupation of the Soviet Far East. Even some sections of the Japanese bourgeoisie were dissatisfied, regarding the intervention as an investment which had swallowed hundreds of millions of yen and had given no return.

Bolshevik agitation had its effect on the Japanese soldiers as it had on the other interventionist troops. No matter how the Japanese generals tried to fence off their soldiers against the revolutionary ideas of the Bolsheviks, these ideas penetrated into the army and had no inconsiderable influence.

The Far Eastern Bolsheviks had already made contact with revolutionary groups of Japanese soldiers at the beginning of 1919. The urban Party organizations and partisan headquarters distributed leaflets among the Japanese soldiers.

The Japanese command were powerless to combat the growing influence of this propaganda for all the ferocity of the army regime. Many soldiers refused to fight against the Soviet Republic and went over to the partisans. For instance, the Japanese Communist Sato joined the partisans and conducted

agitation among the soldiers of the Japanese expeditionary force.

An unwitting tribute to the success of the Bolshevik agitation was paid by the Japanese command during the peace negotiations of March, 1920. One of the main points in their peace terms was the demand to stop Communist propaganda among the Japanese troops.

Between May and June, 1920, the foreign department of the Maritime Regional Committee of the Communist Party issued the following leaflets and pamphlets in Japanese: *The Truth About the Bolsheviks*, *What Is the Workers' Party?* *Spiders and Flies*, *A Tale About Water*. In addition the *Program of the Russian Communist Party* and the *Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.* were published in Japanese.

An extremely effective contribution to Bolshevik propaganda was the appeal of Kiochi Simbo, a Japanese who had served as a volunteer in the French air force, and who, after being taken prisoner by the Germans, had escaped to Russia and joined the Red Army. In his appeal, which was addressed to the Japanese soldiers, Kiochi Simbo exposed the policy of the Japanese imperialists, who were trying to strangle the revolution in the East, and called upon the soldiers to fight against their "native" oppressors and exploiters, against the generals and capitalists, and work for a fraternal alliance with the toilers of the whole world.

The revolutionary movement in the Japanese expeditionary force became particularly strong from 1920 onwards.

According to some reports a whole company of Japanese soldiers revolted in Vladivostok at the beginning of 1920. The rebels were put on a cruiser, taken out to sea and shot.

Anti-interventionist acts by Japanese soldiers took place not

only in Vladivostok but in other parts of the Maritime Region, on the Amur and in Transbaikalia.

Under these circumstances the Japanese imperialists had to draw in their tentacles.

It was hard, cruelly hard for the Japanese interventionists to leave the Soviet Far East. Everything seemed to have been provided for. Their hopes had seemed so secure. And now—fiasco!

The evacuation of the Japanese from Transbaikalia proceeded rapidly. By Oct. 15, 1920, not a single Japanese soldier was left on the territory.

Prior to the evacuation Semyonov received a visit from Takayanagi, the Japanese Chief of Staff, who gave him the friendly assurance that the Japanese would protect his interests as jealously as their own. Then he informed him that the evacuation was quite definite. Semyonov could not believe Takayanagi and sent a message to General Ooi on the same day, asking for confirmation. But it was too true! Semyonov was beside himself. It was impossible, incomprehensible, criminal! Was this his reward for defending the Japanese interests!

And Semyonov realized there and then that his career had come to an end, that the scene was set for his exit from Transbaikalia. He wrote a letter to the Japanese crown prince, imploring him to postpone the evacuation, if only for a short time.

The ataman was kept waiting for a reply. And when it finally came he found little to console him.

"The Imperial Japanese government," it ran "have discussed your request from every angle. They are grateful to you and wish to maintain friendly relations, but the situation which is embarrassing us from every side does not permit us to accede to your request. Furthermore, the Japanese government do not consider you strong enough to help Japan in the achievement of her great aims. Your influence among the Russian people is

waning day by day and the hatred which the Russians entertain for you is affecting our policy. . . .”

At the end of October, 1920, the Red Army and partisan forces ejected Semyonov from Chita and drove him into Manchuria. Thus ended the fight against Semyonov, one of the most trusted agents of the Japanese.

On Oct. 29, 1920, the regional governments of the Far East held a conference in Chita and elected the government of the Far Eastern Republic.

This was not a Soviet state. It was in the nature of a compromise between a Soviet state and a bourgeois-democratic state. It was formed on the initiative of the Soviet Republic as a temporary measure to avoid friction with the Japanese, who were still ensconced in the Maritime Region. The Soviet Republic needed a breathing space in the East in order to repulse the Third Allied Expedition in the West and dispose of the Poles and General Wrangel.

In the face of her general adverse circumstances Japan was obliged to agree to the formation of the Far Eastern Republic.

The Japanese imperialists thought to use the reactionary elements here as a buffer against the Soviet Republic. But they miscalculated. The Bolsheviks played the leading part in the government of the Far Eastern Republic.

VIII. THE JAPANESE MAKE ANOTHER ATTEMPT

In the spring of 1921, after disposing of the Poles and General Wrangel, the Soviet Republic was experiencing economic difficulties. The petty-bourgeois parties were instigating kulak risings.

The Japanese imperialists decided to take advantage of these difficulties and made preparations for a new attempt.

At a conference in Port Arthur held in March, 1921, representatives of Japan and France signed a secret treaty under which the Russian Far East was to be converted into a Japanese colony by the combined forces of Japan, France and the Russian White Guards.

A Japanese puppet government was to be formed in Vladivostok in opposition to the Far Eastern Republic. France undertook to bring from Europe the White forces which had survived Wrangel's debacle in the Crimea. Ataman Semyonov was appointed commander-in-chief of the White forces. The Japanese command was to help Semyonov land his troops in Vladivostok from Manchuria. Baron Ungern, operating in Mongolia, was instructed to cut off the Far East from the Soviet Republic. After the conference in Port Arthur, the Japanese called another conference in Peking with the participation of the White bandit leaders who had taken refuge in Manchuria.

The new stages in the Japanese intervention began with a bloody coup of the reactionaries in Vladivostok. In May the Japanese managed to form there a puppet government consisting of various shady characters, chief of which were the brothers Merkulov, notorious adventurers.

This coup was followed by a massing of White Guards in the Maritime Region. At the same time fresh troops arrived in Vladivostok from Japan.

The plan went swimmingly until it came to landing Semyonov's troops in Vladivostok. This was opposed by the Merkulov clique, who feared the rivalry of Semyonov. Since the Merkulovs had so far given them every satisfaction, rigorously persecuting all persons suspected of Bolshevik sympathies, the Japanese gave in to them.

At the same time Japan made another attempt to gain possession of Outer Mongolia.

The first attempt had been made in February, 1919, through the instrumentality of Semyonov, who called a "Pan-Mongolian Congress" in Chita. It is significant that the representatives of Urga (now Ulan Bator-Khoto) refused to attend this "congress." The idea of forming a pan-Mongolian puppet state under the protection of Japan called forth protests from the other imperialists and from China as well. The second attempt had been made with the help of General Hsui, a member of the Anfu* clique, a Japanese placeman in the Chinese government. Chinese troops under his command seized Urga and made the Mongolian premier abrogate the autonomy of Mongolia (November, 1919). However, in the middle of 1920 the Anfu government in China was overthrown and Hsui fled from Mongolia.

Here the Japanese made a third attempt and sent Baron Ungern, who had retreated from Transbaikalia under the blows of the people's revolutionary army.

As defined by the Japanese general staff Ungern's function was to fight against Soviet Russia on the one hand and on the other hand to help Japan to gain possession of Outer Mongolia.

At that time Outer Mongolia was an extremely backward country of nomadic herdsmen. It was ruled by hereditary princelings presided over by the spiritual and temporal lord of Mongolia, the Hutuhta of Urga.

The Chinese Tuchun—militarists who considered Mongolia their patrimony—and Chinese merchants also took part in the exploitation of the country.

Thus the laboring population of Mongolia were in manifold bondage to the Chinese militarists and merchants, officials, and their own feudal princelings and priests.

* Anfu—the name of a pro-Japanese clique in China.

Last but not least it was a cockpit of imperialist rivalries.

Winning over the Hutuhta, the Mongolian princes and clergy with glittering promises of advancement, Baron Ungern assumed the role of "liberator" of Mongolia. Baron Ungern, a big landowner and ex-officer of the tsarist army, told the feudal princelings and lamas of Mongolia: "I will make an avenue with gallows that will stretch from Asia across Europe."

At the beginning of February, 1921, Baron Ungern raided and occupied Urga, the capital of Mongolia. Meanwhile, under the influence of the Russian Revolution, the masses were moving for their freedom and independence. This movement was led by the Revolutionary People's Party of Mongolia, which put up a strenuous fight against the exploiters and enslavers, native and foreign. Red detachments of Mongols were formed, the embryo of the revolutionary people's army of Mongolia. In February, 1921, a congress of the Revolutionary People's Party decided to prosecute the revolutionary struggle with the demand for an "independent democratic Mongolia" and "an alliance with Soviet Russia."

On March 13, 1921, on the initiative of the Revolutionary People's Party, a provisional people's government was formed in Maimachen, which declared the independence of Mongolia. Soon afterwards it appealed to the R.S.F.S.R. for assistance against Ungern. The Soviet government agreed to grant this assistance.

In the meantime Ungern left Urga with 10,500 cavalry, supported by 37 machine guns and 21 field pieces, and marched toward the Soviet border to take part in the general offensive along the whole Asiatic border as per the Japanese plan.

With the Red Army of the R.S.F.S.R. the Mongolian people's revolutionary army dealt Ungern a crushing blow and, on July 6, 1921, occupied Urga. On July 10 independent Mon-

golia formed a People's Revolutionary Government which requested the R.S.F.S.R. to leave the Red Army units in Mongolia until the White bands had been completely destroyed.

By the end of July the Soviet troops wiped out the Baron's army. Ungern himself was captured by the Red partisans and shot.

The Mongolian people, benighted and enslaved for centuries, finally became free and independent due to the fraternal help of the great socialist state.

In November, 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed by the first Great Hural, the supreme organ of power.

A constitution was adopted there and then, incorporating, as the main point, the aim of eliminating the survivals of the feudal theocratic system and creating a new social order based on the complete democratization of government.

After the completion of the operations against the Whites the Soviet troops were withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic.

* * *

These events coincided with a period when the U.S.A., whose influence had considerably increased after the war, challenged the positions which Japan had captured in China.

America, which had come to an agreement with Britain beforehand, called a conference in Washington to limit armaments, as well as to discuss problems relating to the East and the Pacific.

The conference was opened on Nov. 12, 1921, with the participation of America, Britain, France, Japan, Italy, China, Belgium, Holland and Portugal. The government of the R.S.F.S.R. was not invited to the conference and declared an official protest

against the discussion in Washington of Far Eastern questions directly concerning the Soviet Republic.

The conference was presided over by Hughes, American Secretary of State, and lasted for three months.

At this conference American imperialism dealt a heavy blow to Japan.

In the first Four-Power Pact (signed by America, Britain, France and Japan) America made Britain break off her alliance with Japan, then insisted on Japan's evacuating the Shantung Province, though on very onerous financial terms for China.

The chief results of the Washington conference were the Five-Power Pact (U.S.A., Britain, Japan, France, Italy) for the limitation of naval armaments and the Nine-Power Pact (U.S.A., Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and China). The latter pact was the embodiment of America's Open Door policy.

America's aim in the Washington agreements was to gain naval parity with Britain and arrest the advance of Japan in China.

On all questions touching the sovereignty of China the Washington conference passed decisions which in effect maintained the semi-colonial status of this country. The aim of the conference (or rather the aim of the United States) was merely to deprive Japan of her privileged position in China and give all the imperialist powers equal chances in plundering the country.

By virtue of the Japanese-American antagonisms the Washington Conference could not pass by the Japanese intervention which was continuing in the Soviet Far East. On the insistence of America Japan promised to evacuate her troops but did not enter into any formal obligations on this question.

The Japanese imperialists had seen several months prior to

the Washington Conference that the relation of forces on the international arena had taken a turn to her disadvantage. To create the illusion of an abatement of the high pressure in the Soviet Far East, Japan decided to resort to a diplomatic ruse and requested the Far Eastern Republic to enter negotiations for the evacuation of Japanese troops from the Maritime Region.

It was obvious that the Japanese imperialists would use these negotiations as a screen while they waited for the results of the Washington Conference, after which they would probably start something fresh.

Nevertheless the peaceable Far Eastern Republic agreed to the proposals and the negotiations commenced at Dairen in August, 1921.

As was foreseen, the Japanese sabotaged the Dairen negotiations from the very outset. For over a month the Japanese diplomats, with their usual suave and insinuating hypocrisy, chanted their peaceful intentions to the Russian people, while exerting every effort to circumvent the Far Eastern Republic delegation.

Finally the Japanese diplomats saw that their crude farce had come to nothing and showed their hand. They submitted a draft treaty, the arrogant and frankly rapacious character of which could only be compared with the notorious Twenty-One Demands which were submitted to China in 1915 with the object of converting her into a Japanese colony.

These impudent demands, acceptance of which would have made the Far East a second Korea, were indignantly rejected. The Japanese tried to bluff the Russian delegation, declaring that Japan would find another Russian government to accept the terms. But it did not help. So the negotiations in Dairen came to nothing.

IX. THE BATTLE OF VOLOCHAYEVKA

Under cover of the negotiations in Dairen the Japanese were busy in the Maritime Region. In August, 1921, they decapitated the puppet government in Vladivostok and in place of the Merkulov brothers, who had turned it into a regular thieves' kitchen, appointed the arch-reactionary General Dietrichs.

A "land gathering" (Zemski Sobor) called together by Dietrichs elected him "ruler" of the Maritime Region. Following the traditions of Kolchak the newly elected ruler governed by imperial "decrees."

Dietrichs immediately introduced "reforms." The White Guard bands were renamed the "popular levy," and he called himself the "Voivode of the Popular Levy." Preparations began for a pantomime march on Moscow.

The command of the Japanese army of occupation lavishly armed the "levy," helping them to build armored trains, fitting them out with a mosquito fleet, supplying them with arms and equipment.

The White offensive began in autumn. After fierce battles the republican troops and partisans gave way against superior numbers and retreated. At the end of 1921 the White Guards occupied Khabarovsk and Volochayevka and continued their advance.

The Amur Party organization sent half of the membership to the front, while the Chita local sent over 500. Reinforcements were brought up day and night. In December the White Guards were thrown back by the Far Eastern Republic troops and retreated to Volochayevka.

The strongly fortified positions of the Whites at Volochayevka extended for 11 miles. Three lines of trenches had been dug on the slopes of the cone-hills and were well protected with

machine-gun nests. The approaches to the positions were guarded by dense entanglements, in some place ten rows deep. The Japanese and White Guards claimed that Volochayevka was impregnable.

The White forces had the advantage of being able to rest, warm themselves and prepare hot food in the villages behind their lines, while the Far Eastern Republic troops were exposed to the bitter cold (40 degrees of frost was not uncommon) and snowstorms. They took up a position in the open, out in the deep snow. They were poorly clad and had nothing to eat but salt fish and frozen bread. But the revolutionary enthusiasm of the republican troops was not diminished by these hardships and gave every assurance of victory.

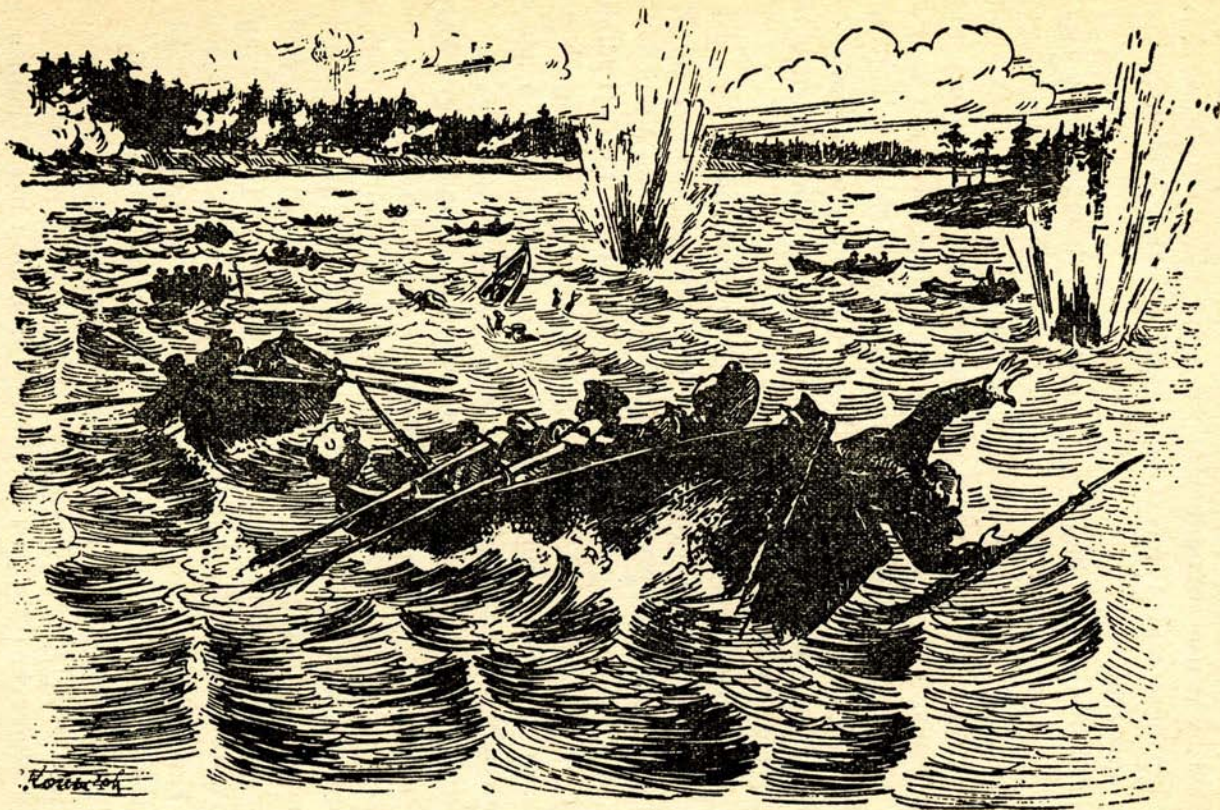
The command drew up a plan to surround the White positions and annihilate the enemy forces. One operative group of revolutionary troops was to make a frontal attack on Volochayevka, a second was to strike at the Whites from the left flank and rear while a third was to cut off their line of retreat to Khabarovsk. On the night of Feb. 6, 1922, the people's army made ready and early next morning the attack began.

The battle lasted for three strenuous days and nights with tremendous duels of fire. The attackers swept on in irresistible waves, tearing down the barbed wire with their bare hands, smashing it with their rifle butts, hacking it with their swords.

And when, at the decisive moment of the assault, the republicans' armored train fired its last volleys and their one and only tank was disabled, the artillery broke the enemy's line. The revolutionary troops poured into the breach. The key position of Yun-Karan was taken. The enemy was defeated.

Their confidence shattered, the surviving forces fled in the direction of Vladivostok.

Volochayevka! No part of the Soviet Union has left unsung



Japanese repulsed while crossing the Besheny Rapids on the River Amur

this heroic epic of the revolutionary army, which destroyed one of the last strongholds of the Japanese and White Guards in the Far East.

Volochayevka was an object lesson to the Japanese interventionists. The "march on Moscow" was called off.

In April, 1922, the republican troops, hot on the heels of the White Guards, approached the city of Spassk, where there was a large Japanese garrison.

A dense ring of partisans was contracting inexorably around the Japanese in the Maritime Region. Fearing to be cut off from the Pacific Ocean, the Japanese retired to Vladivostok.

The revolutionary forces took Spassk by storm. The remnants of the White forces fled, after the Japanese.

Thousands of partisans were operating throughout the Maritime Region, making lightning raids on the Japanese rear, then withdrawing into the wilds of the taiga. By autumn Vladivostok was practically surrounded by partisan troops, which did not give the Japanese intruders a moment's peace. In August alone the partisans of the Maritime Region destroyed four enemy armored trains, two of them belonging to the Japanese. In the Possiet district the Japanese tried to take reprisals against a partisan force but were put to flight. They brought up reinforcements and made another attempt. After a strenuous one-day battle the Japanese vacated the field again.

The forces of the Soviet Republic grew steadily stronger. It was clear that the days of the Japanese intervention were numbered.

At a secret meeting on Aug. 4, 1922, the Japanese imperial government was obliged to adopt the following decision:

"... the general European situation, the victories of the Soviet troops on the Polish front, the growing Soviet menace, the perceptible antipathy of the United States and China, the

steps which America has taken with regard to Sakhalin, the general war preparations in the United States . . . oblige us to leave uncompleted our political schemes in Siberia. All these circumstances oblige us to bide our time, any inopportune action might spell ruin to all our great ideals. . . .

"The greatest importance attaches to the Soviet government, as the danger which lies in the union of all Russians might put unexpected obstacles in our path. . . . We demand the utmost caution, to keep the bacilli of Bolshevism isolated. . . ." (*Documents of the Japanese Intervention of 1918-1922*, Central Archives of the U.S.S.R., 1934 edition, p. 162.)

The frustrated marauders left Vladivostok. The Japanese vessels put about for home. The White Guards fled into Korea and Manchuria.

On Oct. 19, 1922, the revolutionary troops approached Vladivostok. They entered the city on October 25, joyously received by the population. Lenin telegraphed a warm message of congratulation to the victors.

On November 13 the Far Eastern Republic convoked a popular assembly in Chita, which declared the dissolution of the government. On November 16 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the R.S.F.S.R. declared the Far East a component part of the Soviet Republic.

In January, 1925, the U.S.S.R. and Japan signed a treaty at Peking and the latter withdrew her troops from North Sakhalin.

The Soviet Republic had completed the liberation of her territories from the interventionists.

Recalling the heroic days of the struggle for the Russian Far East, the Soviet people calmly and confidently face the future. They know that the Bolshevik Red Army is a force that will defy all invasion.

X. A THRIVING TERRITORY

After repulsing the invaders the Soviet people proceeded to regenerate the Far Eastern territory.

The Far Eastern landscape is being transformed with new industrial plants, oil fields and gold workings, mines and collieries, railways and highways transporting the produce of the new fisheries and timber from the vast forests.

New cities are springing up. On the Amur, hundreds of miles from Khabarovsk, stands the modern city of Komsomolsk, built by the hands of the young generation. Another new city, Lessozavodsk, on the blue Ussuri, has tens of thousands of inhabitants. Here, not very long ago, there was nothing but a few collections of ramshackle huts.

Vladivostok is now a large, modern city teeming with life. The port is kept busy day and night unloading vessels from all ends of the earth.

Khabarovsk and scores of other Far Eastern towns have changed beyond recognition.

Collective farms, equipped with tractors and harvester combines, are thriving in the fertile valleys.

Near Lake Hanka, where there was nothing but bogs, marshes and wild thickets, rice fields grow in lush squares of green.

Soviet men and women, the builders of socialism, have got down in real earnest to the efficient and rational exploitation of the abundant natural wealth. But the greatest achievement here is the new people, the new human relationships which have been created by the Soviet era.

The people of the Soviet Far East have been liberated forever from the exploitation of man by man and the nightmare of national enmity. Everywhere, in the big cities and in the

collective farms, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews and other nationalities inhabiting this territory are living a new life, full of interest, prosperous and cultured.

The peoples of the socialist state cherish this beautiful and thriving territory on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Their army guards it day and night.

And there is no power in the world which could take one inch of Soviet soil from the great Soviet family of nations.

The Soviet Far East border is clad in concrete and steel. The mighty regiments and divisions of the glorious Red Army are equipped with all the most modern weapons. Stalin's air force keeps ceaseless watch on the border. The Soviet Pacific Fleet patrols the home waters.

Anybody who dares to attack the Soviet Far East will be annihilated on his own territory.

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